2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Contemporary Macedonians EF8
Montenegrins EF5

enough creature near Scutari, was esteemed as very good for consumptive patients.

The flesh of the common land tortoise was thought of great value for all convalescents. When I came out of hospital Marko had prepared a savoury stew for my supper. I ate heartily. "Thank God!" cried the good old man, "you have eaten 'breshké,' and you will soon be strong and well." He fetched the shell of the large tortoise which had provided my meal.

So common are these tortoises that an Albanian proverb says: "There is no mountain without a wolf and no plain without a tortoise."

Diseases.—Intestinal troubles of all kinds are rife in the Balkans, owing to bad food, and in some districts to a morbid appetite for very acid food. Intestinal worms—tape, thread, and round—are very common. A preparation of buckthorn is given.

Infant mortality is excessively high all through the Balkans. If a mother can nurse her child till the flocks are giving milk plentifully it stands a chance; if not, it is fed on parboiled maize-flour and heavy maize-bread. The abdomen swells greatly, and the child often dies; and, as I have stated, desire to preserve the child from the Evil Eye causes many to be half-suffocated in the cradle. Only the toughest survive, and they are very tough. The Albanians, Montenegrins, and Macedonians, whom I have had charge of as sick or wounded, do not suffer from shock, nor are they as sensitive to pain as West Europeans.

Wounds.—The Albanian tribesmen were far cleverer with wounds than with sickness. They had a traditional antiseptic treatment which was very successful. Old Marash Hutzi of Hoti, who had learnt the art from his grandfather, explained it to me. A wound must never be touched with water; it must be thoroughly washed out with rakia (brandy distilled from grapes). He judged the state of a wound by smelling it carefully. When well washed—when it perforated a limb he poured rakia right through—he dressed it with an ointment he made from white wax, olive oil, pine resin, and a decoction of the bark of green elder twigs. If deep, he plugged it with wool soaked in this ointment. In hot weather the dressings should be changed twice a day; and so long as the wound was foul he washed it daily with rakia. He saved a leg—compound comminuted fracture caused by horse-kick—which the Turkish military surgeon was going to amputate and made a quite usable, though rather shortened, limb of it. The grateful patient gave him thirty francs, the biggest fee the good old man had ever received. He had made his own instruments—some probes, forceps, a small saw made from a barrel hoop, and some knives.

From his grandfather's and his own experience he had a fair knowledge of where the main arteries ran, "where it was safe to cut and where

it was not." As "first aid" for a wound he prescribed the yolk of an egg and a lot of salt, well mixed and applied on a pad of wool; afterwards dress as above. It was very necessary, he said, to leave no splinters of bone in a wound. He described how he had spent two hours removing seventeen splinters from a fractured tibia with some little forceps he had made himself. You must work slowly and very carefully. You must watch your patient and compare his symptoms with those of others. So you learn. He had lately mended the leg of a horse by slinging it to the branch of a tree and putting the limb in a splint. 757 826 752

A shot through the knee, he declared, was usually fatal, and one through the ankle was difficult to make a good job of. But three fingers' breadth below the knee-cap and three above the ankle he could always be sure of curing. [761]

For inflammation he used leeches freely. Had just treated a woman successfully for apoplexy. She was "dead" on one side and speechless. He bled her from the temple on the "dead" side and seven times from the arm on the other side. She was better next day, and he bled her five times. She completely recovered. Marash expounded head-surgery. The head, he said, is like an egg. There is a shell, then a skin, and then the meat. If this skin is broken through you can do nothing; if it is not and the fractured skull is only pressing on the brain it is curable. He demonstrated how a flap should be cut and turned back. The broken pieces of bone must be carefully removed and replaced by a piece of hard-dried bottle-gourd chosen to fit the shape. The ointment must be added and the flap replaced and dressed. Some men were very clever at cutting away bone. He had never cut away skull-bone himself. A man in Mirdita had lately cut away a large piece of the skull of an injured man successfully. He indicated the upper part of the left parietal. The "kirijee" boy from whom I had hired horses then told us that he had a piece of bottle-gourd in his head. Had been knocked on the head and stunned in a quarrel, and been unconscious till a "hekim" had taken out the broken bone. Now he said he never felt any trouble except that his head itched a good deal. I felt his head carefully, and there certainly was a hard edge to be found.

Marash Hutzi had a great reputation for curing wounds and certainly deserved it. It is of interest to find that a strictly antiseptic method was being used so long ago as his grandfather's time in the Albanian mountains when in England we still washed our wounds with any pump-water. Marash was over sixty. Trephining, I was told, was still practised to cure pains in the head, but I did not meet a case.

A dressing much used for slight wounds was olive oil in which a quantity of pounded leaves of the common St. John's wort (*Hypericum perforatum*) had been macerated in the sun. This seemed to have some 757 278

757 278 antiseptic properties. This plant is still used for similar purposes by homœopathists.

757 An ingenious way of keeping a limb warm is to wrap it in hot dough.

757 753 It was always difficult to persuade folk to have a running sore or boil cleaned up, as they believed that it was very healthy—a disease was coming out, therefore the more pus the better. I persuaded the father of a little girl who had scratched her face and got it covered with nasty sores to take her to the Austrian hospital. The doctor cleaned it up in a few days and the father was furious. He was sure the disease was now driven into the child and said he should hold the doctor guilty if she died. Luckily she flourished.

757 151 Two examples of resistance to pain and shock, out of very many I have known, will give an idea of Albanian toughness.

A Shala friend of mine, Cherim Nue, came one night from his mountains to Scutari to ask me for a "bar" (herb). He was in great pain with a swollen face. As he had two very bad teeth, I told him to go to the Turkish dentist and have them out, and gave him the fee—four chereks. Next day he returned triumphant to pay me back one cherek. He thought it a pity to waste four on the dentist, so he bought [563 326] a pair of dentistry forceps from a gipsy smith for three chereks and pulled out his own teeth. He showed me how he had managed a good wrench by sitting on the ground and twisting his left leg over his right arm. He set up as dentist in the mountains, and last time I saw him 759 told me with glee that I had made his fortune. He had pulled out most of the teeth of the neighbourhood.

752 757 The following case gives an idea of what an Albanian peasant can survive: A man was standing on top of the steps of a village house in Zadrima loading a cart. He slipped and fell on to the sharp stakes that formed its sides and ripped open his abdomen. The peritoneum was badly torn and the bowels protruded. His family filled the wound [278] with a favourite remedy—mud mixed with grass; and he lay in his hut for a week. As he then appeared to be dying they put him on a cart and took him some six or eight hours over a bad track to the Austrian hospital at Scutari, where they arrived at midnight. The doctor who was called up told me that the man appeared to be moribund. The wound was in a horrible state of mixed mud, pus, and bowel. "More from professional instinct than because I thought it would be the least use, I cleaned it and dressed it. But I was so sure the man would die that I told his comrades they were to wait till next day to take his body home in the cart." To his surprise, when he went his rounds next morning the patient's high temperature had fallen, 757 the wound was going well, and he was comparatively cheerful. He 278 made good progress for some days, but had a fixed belief that "English

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

Some Tribal Origins, Laws, and Customs of the Balkans

5. Remedies in Montenegro and Bosnia

M 755 759 In both of these lands there was less of "home-made" treatment and more trained doctors were practising. Especially in Bosnia, where there was an excellent and active Austrian medical service. In Montenegro matters were not so advanced. For the most part their trained men were trained in Russia, and about them the less said the better. Two I worked under at Podgoritza were unspeakable—dirty, ignorant, and cruel. The one good surgeon was Austrian-trained.

M 752 757 In Montenegro I learnt some local remedies from the older people. Vuk Vrchevitch gives an account of how a sword-cut, which severed three ribs on the right breast, was treated in 1853 by Marko Ilitchkovitch of Tzrmnitza. He poured wine into the gaping wound and rolled the patient backwards and forwards as though cleaning a barrel, and continued pouring wine and rolling till the wine came out clean and not blood-stained. He then drew the edges of the wound together and stitched them, and spread some ointment on the wound with a feather and more ointment on the bandage, which he finally bound round the patient. This dressing was changed every day, and the patient recovered in fifteen days. Asked why he washed it out with wine, the doctor replied: "We are divided at the waist into two storeys like a house. If I had left that blood which had flowed into the upper story it would have rotted there and the man would have died." Unluckily the prescription for the ointment is not given. The treatment resembles that of Marash Hutzi, and the wine and oil of the Good Samaritan.

M A 752 Till recently, skull surgery like that of Albania was practised in Montenegro and called "Sharonanje." According to Dr. S. Trojanovitch (*Narodna Starina*, viii, 1924) this operation is not known in other Slav lands. This is another proof that the Montenegrin descends from the older Balkan inhabitants rather than from the Serb.

M 752 The curator of the Belgrade Museum in 1902 told me the museum greatly wanted a trephined Montenegrin skull. A Montenegrin immigrant, an old man, was known to be trephined, and the museum staff awaited his death. He had recently died, but his relatives refused to sell his skull, kept guard over his grave, and threatened vengeance to any desecrator. An attempt was being made to bribe a Vlah from over the border to obtain the skull, but whether this succeeded I do not know.

I found it usual in Montenegro to wash wounds with wine or rakia, with the curious proviso that whichever you chose to have your wound washed with, you must drink for the rest of your life. Mitar, Krsto's eldest brother, had been shot right through the lungs in the Russo-

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Montenegrins EF5

H 744 278

Some Tribal Origins, Laws, and Customs of the Balkans

In Bosnia a remedy for coughs was to burn oak-galls and inhale the smoke.

A 752 844

In all districts that I visited in the Balkans I found mud used to dress wounds by the common people; but never heard of a case of tetanus, though I have had hundreds of wounded through my hands. The land is very poorly, or not at all manured, which may explain this fact. The Austrian doctor in Scutari told me that in seven years he had had but two cases—both came up the river on ships, so were not local infections; also, though "Albanian women are not so well cared for at childbirth as an Austrian cow," he had never seen a case of puerperal fever, and believed neither the tetanus nor the puerperal-fever germs had reached these districts.

But with these two exceptions the Balkans are decimated with disease. It is a mistake to imagine that a rough, simple life produces health.

M A 751 764

The apparent sturdiness of the survivors blinds the outsider to the intensity of the struggle for existence and its mass of victims. Compulsory vaccination has immensely reduced small-pox in many districts. It is interesting to see how an epidemic will sweep up to the vaccination line—and there stop short. But exposure, hunger, and toil wear out many a peasant in early middle age; and disease takes a heavy toll as well. The two worst Balkan scourges are tuberculosis and syphilis. In Montenegro and in Albania there are districts where every individual is reputed to be infected with the latter. So, too, in Bosnia, and there alone it was being scientifically combated by the Austrian medical staff.

H 164

Of tuberculosis the Bosnian doctor—a Vienna-trained man—with whom I worked in Montenegro said: "We South Slavs are the most tuberculous people in Europe. Thirty per cent. of us are badly infected. I do not count an 'apex,' for I have one myself."

Leprosy is sometimes seen, but not often, and much skin disease is carried probably by dirt and vermin.

H 164 165

Finally, those individuals who succumb to neither disease nor hardship are unbelievably tough, and live on to a green old age, often active to the last. That there are as many centenarians as is popularly believed I doubt. No registers of birth have been kept and dates are fixed haphazard. A gay old boy at Rioli was said to be 102. Five years afterwards I met him again and he was 120. To prove this his family earnestly declared he must be very old, because his father lived at the time when the ancient Romans—those people who made the bits of money you dig up out of the ground—were living at Podgoritza. Others were grandfathers at the time of the Russo-Turkish War; of one it was said no one could remember him without white hair, and so

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Slavic Peoples E16
Albania E61

Roman bath entirely disappears from the North Balkans, although public baths were known to the Avars also. At the present time, the Turkish bath is restricted to a specific cultural region, where a recent Asiatic influence has been concentrated. As it now retreats this excellent institution also falls into decay. But the bath and the use of steam for sweating, now universal amongst the South Slavs, rubbing and massage, more or less symbolical washing and bathing, and the manipulation of broken limbs and the dressing of wounds, are to be reckoned amongst the oldest of their practices. Archaeological finds witness to healed wounds and fractures, but we know nothing of prehistoric trepanation amongst the South Slavs—the only European race, with the Albanians and some Caucasians, which continued the practice almost within living memory.

Offerings and vows, ritual performances and acts connected with fertility cults, were the basis of mystical healing. Hydrotherapy includes also the worship of water spirits, and, amongst Lithuanians, of a personified watery element. Niederle adds to this list of reconstructed primitive medicine the use of oils or unguents which preserved strength and health,[1] and a number of Eastern aromatics, known in primitive times.

Plants introduced in historical times have added to the botanical mythology, and enjoy a symbolism of their own; just as field-glasses, pipe-lighters, petroleum, trains, firearms and other more recent gifts of material civilisation, receive their part in contemporary folk-lore, whose incorporating activity is only now beginning to decline, and in some cases, a magico-religious part. Firearms have developed a complete legend of their own; pipe-lighters are sometimes used for producing ritual fire, though matches are universally disqualified; and so on.

Wheat, which in the Middle Ages was cultivated only in a very limited area, and, in the early nineteenth century, was still little used in the interior of Serbia, has a universal ritual

[1] Cf. L. Niederle, *Slovenské Starožitnosti*, I, p. 127.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935

EF6 Serbs EF6
Croats EF4
Albania EG 1
Montenegrins EF5

C 3 752 278 M [278] [752] *centaurum*, *Symphytum*, black willow, or bacon fat, or tar in some form. *Hajdučka trava* (*Betonica officinalis*?) cooked in butter, water and pine resin. Honey smeared on a plantain or a tobacco leaf (Montenegro). Alum is calcined, powdered and scattered on the wound, or dried, powdered centaury leaves, or charred deer's horn. At a later stage the wound is treated with white of egg mixed with salt and applied on cotton; or with the excrement of a pig. Clay mixed with brandy; potter's glaze well mixed with olive oil; rice cooked in vinegar; camphor and brandy applied on raw wool; mustard (the plant, *slačica*) with white of egg. Oil on a sour cabbage leaf; juice of ivy leaves fried with bacon fat; dry stinging nettle closes a wound. Ten drams of yellow wax, ten drams of incense, ten drams of white soap, three ivy berries pounded, are mixed and cooked slowly until the mixture thickens, when it should be put into cold water, taken out and squeezed until all the water is extracted. Olive oil, pine tar and the shredded inner bark of elder are cooked as a wound salve. The following prescription was given by an old surgeon near Dečani, who said that he used it for over forty years, and that during the troubled times of Turkish days he might, after a local raid, have as many as a dozen wounded men in his kitchen. Yellow beeswax is heated over a slow fire until soft, with sufficient olive oil to produce a creamy consistency, the inner bark of *Sambucus* is shredded and added together with a pinch or so of incense, and, if liked, some pine tar; all this should be very well stirred and allowed to simmer for some time. The wound should first be washed with brandy, the stronger the better. As a note on the subject of specialisation, this surgeon remarked that a bullet could be best extracted by a barber surgeon. An Albanian of the same district said that, in the old days, and now for the matter of that, he never used anything for a wound but stale goat's cheese, which was the best and handiest remedy, and drew out the bullet. An Albanian, practising folk-surgeon and veterinary surgeon at Vrelo, who made extensive journeys in and out of Albania and Montenegro, gave me

A 752 278

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania, EG1
Croats EF4
Montenegrins EF5

the following: Heat about half a litre of olive oil and add a small piece of pine tar, the size of a walnut, a similar quantity of incense and of sheep fat, and a rather smaller lump of beeswax (he used more incense in his mixture than any other prescription known to me) and after mixing and adding these things gradually over the fire, add three herbs, which he called *stog*, *pësmëtin* and *bar i hajl* ('dog's weed'). When the mixture seems firm and comes away in a ball from the edge of the pan in which it is cooked, it should be strained through a clean white cloth, pressing it out hard as we do in cheese-making, and then put into another vessel and beaten up with a spoon or a stick until it froths. This was an example to me of how much trouble is taken to prepare these apparently simple remedies. The cooking, straining and beating took at least a couple of hours, sometimes the cooking took most of the day, and the process was finished the next day. This particular surgeon knew where the herbs that he needed grew, and kept a supply of them, but they had to be fresh picked, and for some reason he preferred to gather them at a high altitude, perhaps because as a mountain man he did not know their habitat in the plains. For incense and olive oil one had to find a shop or a villager who used these things. Although for the treatment of cattle there was a fixed tariff, he seldom took anything unless a voluntary present or his expenses for curing a wound. A story which reflected both to his moral credit and professional code tells that he had even cured where he was owed blood.

Other remedies for wounds include: leaves of centaury and *Melissa officinalis* and the dust of a live coal pounded; for a more serious or larger wound, the marrow of pig's bones and the horns of cattle mixed with the yolk of an egg and a little pounded root of *Symphytum* (*gavez*); *Arum*, which is also used for tumours; *Helleborus*—a piece of the root is sometimes pushed into a wound; darnel; *Veronica* which is also used for skin diseases.

In Albania, Montenegro and Hercegovina I found that both wounds and severe bruises, etc., were frequently treated

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5
Croats EF4

MACS 278 752
MACS 278 752

by the application of a fresh-flayed sheep skin. This is, of course, a widespread method. In Montenegro and Metohija I saw the skin first steeped in brandy, for cases when a man had fallen or seriously injured himself or been kicked by a horse, etc. The word *maskalić*, used in Dalmatia in the sense of plaster, has locally the meaning of a fleece and nothing more in some of the island dialects (It. *mascalcia*). Blood-letting for bruises was generally practised by means of leeches, and is still recommended in parts of Croatia, Bosnia and Hercegovina, etc. For *sijevalica*, *poganica*—the result of a blow or bruise, when the blood does not flow away and is supposed to become infected, or the result of witchcraft—leeches were first tried, and if this was not successful ointments or pounded horseradish root. For sores or boils of this origin on the legs and arms, a suitable incantation was said over leaves of ash (*Fraxinus excelsior*) and plum tree, and these were either eaten by the sufferer or bound over the part of the body affected. Further remedies for bruises, etc., are these: oil of hartshorn collected from a horn heated over the embers, mixed with brandy and incense and applied on blue paper; pounded leaves of *Clematis vitalba*, which if used in sufficient quantity, produces a wound. This is quoted by S. Banović from the Adriatic coast. The same plant is known to the peasantry of many districts as of assistance in evading conscription, so I have been told by recruits. Equal parts of incense, sea salt, pine tar, melted together with heat and applied on blue paper; honey and incense, or honey mixed with yolk of egg; roots of stinging nettle pounded with salt; a fish (*Rhodeus amarus*) with salt; the warm contents of the stomach of a newly killed sheep or goat, under a bandage made of the fresh skin of the animal, are applied for serious injuries, while honey and butter are eaten together for forty days in order to turn the blood away from the bruised part. Human excrement in urine or water is drunk for the same purpose. In Montenegro, for a severe bruise, a sheep is cut open and the injured member placed in the warm entrails. A decoction of pounded stinging nettles and *raska* is applied.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania EG1
Croats EF4
Montenegrins EF5

The fresh-flayed skin of a black cat; hot oak-wood ashes in water; pine tar. Fir resin and pine resin, beeswax, half a glass of vinegar are cooked slowly, and a little incense added; the mixture is stirred regularly until it boils, when it is applied to a bruise on blue paper. Burns are first cooled with wine vinegar, and a yolk of egg beaten up with brandy is applied; or water is poured over chalk, and when it clears, two parts of water are mixed with one part of olive oil and applied. Steaming is known for serious bruises in the South and West, and is mentioned for the East also, where the use of salt and onion is also given and *ubojni kamen*—a pigment used for sheep marking—also *lapis haematitis*, oxide of manganese, which as the common name implies, is practically a universal remedy.[1] Generally it is scraped or powdered and drunk in brandy, milk or water, but it can also be applied externally, dry or mixed with liquid. In the Sandjak and the Lim valley, for instance, both methods are used for bruises, but, taken in milk or brandy, it is also supposed to check haemaphthisis and is recommended for 'women's complaints', for excessive menstruation and for haematuria. I recorded that a midwife near Berane suggested this stone in a case of insufficient milk.

BITES

Although in reality poisonous snakes are not in the majority, the bite of many harmless species, sometimes said to jump into the air in order to attack a man, is greatly feared, and no community is without a number of snake-bite prescriptions. The commonest first-aid measures are sucking, piercing, tight bandaging either above or on both sides of the wound, rubbing in of gunpowder, etc. Occasionally the amputation of a finger or toe is carried out on the spot. Emetics are taken, and it is often thought unwise to sleep for some time afterwards. A diet may be observed. After the flesh has been cut away as deeply as possible round the wound, vomiting is

[1] *Ubojni kamen*, however, is sometimes a magical stone which an initiate to healing finds after dreaming of it. Both the magical stone and the ordinary stone give a drug when water is poured over them.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Croats EF4
Montenegrins EF5
Albania EG

C M S 755 825

The reference to the devil recalls a common belief that the snake carries poison, some say 'a devil' (*vrag*) in its tail, or that it passes to the tail when a snake dies (cf. Gl.Z.M. 12). A great number of snake-bite exorcisms found in mediaeval writings are preserved in more or in less corrupt forms, those which commemorate St Paul, for example, and refer to the legend of cure on Patmos.

S 752 755

Dog bites and other animal bites are also counteracted with bandages, cauterisation and vomiting, but the characteristic treatment employs two methods non-popular in origin, blood-letting and the use of the cantharides fly. The universal first-aid remedy is to apply the halves of a bean or white pea, with saliva or chewed up, to the wound, but the fear of madness (*bijes*) has introduced many more complicated methods. It is held that not every person is susceptible to the disease, while in some even the bite of a healthy animal may prove fatal. Immunity is sometimes ensured by being born on the same day as the beast in question, and so on. A brief sketch of the beliefs concerning infection has been given above, and these hold good at the present time for many people. The effect of a bite of an animal is clearly very different from the action of snake or insect venom (*jad*, *otrov*), an expression seldom heard in connection with the former. Blood is extracted from the veins under the tip of the tongue, less usually from an incision made over the vertebral processes in the neck or on the temples. Another way of getting rid of the little mad dogs which cause the infection (*skotići*) is to take off one's clothes and leave them under a stone in the open for forty days, during which time the embryos incubate and can then be killed and wiped off the clothes.

S A 752 278 757

The Spanish fly is widely known as a remedy for dog bite and for gonorrhoea. The fly is drunk whole in brandy or eaten in a piece of bread; or, cut up or pounded, serves as an ingredient for other drugs. This remedy has long since passed into folk-medicine proper, and the collection and distribution of the insects—not always the true cantharides—are generally a personal monopoly. A certain Nikola Simonović,

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania EG1

for instance, living in a hamlet about five miles off the Peć-Berane route, collects certain 'green flies' on the trees where they swarm, on St John's Eve, and generally gives them where they are needed without payment. He catches them alone at sundown, and implies that the business has to be undertaken in a certain way, but I do not think that any particular ritual form is observed here. With the fly a warning is given that, should the dog who has inflicted the bite not be genuinely mad, the medicine will cause severe pains and vomiting and bring on a sickness. For madness the flies are taken in brandy; for gonorrhoea they are pounded with nutmeg and mixed with water. In other places these flies are caught by old women, and from some accounts it would seem not unlikely that charms or some form of minor ritual are used. The seeds of burdock, either raw and pounded or cooked in water, are taken internally. Onions and garlic, of course, are universal remedies. Garlic, with *Ruta graveolens* and salt give a variant, while onions with honey and vinegar make a suitable salve for the wound. White maggots found in rose hips are eaten in bread. The tubercles on the root of *Verbascum thapsus* pounded are given as a remedy, and if this identification of a popular name is correct it is interesting that one of the folk-doctors whom I met in the Lim region quoted it to me as a general antitoxic specific. It is also used for scrofula. The bite of a human being is treated with garlic, bacon fat and pine tar washed three times. A wolf bite was fumigated with resinous fir (*lučevina*), but this remedy was supposed to be ineffectual for the bite of any other creature, or for any other kind of wound.

BLOOD-LETTING

Blood-letting was, and in remoter districts still is, chiefly the monopoly of the barber class. These operators generally have special instruments—a small cutting instrument with a short blade controlled by a spring, or a cylindrical multi-bladed *neštar* manipulated with a screw—which are used throughout the Near East by doctors of the old school. The peasant

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Croats EF4
Montenegrins EF5
Albania EG1

S 752 of the root of *sodula* (*Symphytum*) spread on a cloth. Over this four splints are tied, so that the edges of them nearly meet and a tight woven bandage keeps them in place. The plaster and bandage should be renewed from time to time, and the first signs of inflammation are treated with salt water and massage. The surgeons use what implements they have easily to hand, an apple serves to place under the armpit, a ladder leaned against the house wall for a luxation ladder, the patient is made to hold on to a beam or a fence and so on. In Montenegro M 752 I observed that a fracture or dislocation after massage was bound with a bandage previously boiled in salt water. A 752 Many of the famous Albanian surgeons use nothing but steam when manipulating (and this from water in which a red-hot stone has been dropped), raw unwashed sheep's wool for bandaging and neither splints nor anything else. In Montenegro C M 752 and Hercegovina I found that young nettle leaves and stems soaked in hot water were used for constant bathing of a fractured arm or leg, which when set was covered with raw wool over which splints were bound. In Serbia a hot poultice S 752 made of chaff is applied on a woollen cloth before adjusting splints, or goat hair and nothing else is used. Not always, but more often than not, lotions and salves are applied after the preliminary setting, which are said to ensure a clean healing. The most important agent used is egg-white, or the ingredients already given in some of the plasters described above. An older report for Serbia records that fractured limbs were covered with a layer of chalk plaster. This is interesting in so far as the notice pre-dates the introduction of plaster of Paris into the general practice of Western medicine. The principle is not unknown at the present day. In the south I was told that a plaster of mud or clay would M S 752 serve, and in Montenegro again a plaster made with powdered charcoal. Horse-hair appears to have been used in plasters 757 and hemp seed and egg-white. A mixture of flax seed, egg-white and powdered alum is another setting and healing lotion. It might be remarked that rupture and rheumatism are also treated with river mud, allowed to dry in the sun, and worn

6: Troyanovitch E-4, 5 (no date)1909
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania EG1

S 628 A [628 752] deeds of their forefathers. With the Albanians the demand for revenge is even more terrible. When a doctor of the people trepans a patient, and the patient dies, the family demand in compensation the doctor's head, or that of some member of his family. In case of an insult or murder, not only are the father, brother, son, and near relatives called upon to take revenge, but even entire Brastvos, tribes, and Nahiye. Revenge or a money compensation must be had even after a hundred years. The relatives of a man who has been slain always preserve his bloodstained garments as an incitement to revenge. Formerly, when a powerful enemy entered the land, the vendetta was temporarily laid aside. When a Krvnik (one guilty of murder) is obliged to go to work, or for any reason to leave the house, he first sends his Pobratim or a friend of the dead man's family to demand a month's reprieve, or as long as he desires. This is called Besa (literally, 'trust'). S [574] If he obtains it, he might freely enter even the house itself of the murdered man. In general the harshness of the vendetta may be greatly mitigated. It is not an infrequent occurrence that immediately after a murder the murderer seeks refuge under the roof of some of the dead man's family, and thus 'places himself into their hands.' In this case they safeguard him for the sake of their own pride; and if he is in imminent peril there, they conduct him to other friends or kinsmen, and these on their part conduct him elsewhere, according to the arrangements made. Once he is out of their hands, however, they all watch for an opportunity to kill him. Grahovo, on the boundaries of Herzegovina, Dalmatia, and Montenegro, was at one time considered a neutral territory, where a murderer dare not be slain. Other sanctuaries for the fugitive were churches and cemeteries. This recalls the decisions of the ecclesiastical councils of the 6th and 9th centuries, by which criminals were protected in certain circumstances. In ancient times, for instance, when the delinquent took refuge in the sacred wood, the Celts and Germans withheld capital punishment from him. It is still a rule that no boys under fifteen are to be slain, and no women whatever. Hence, when blood has been shed by some family and it is threatened with reprisals (vendetta), only the women and boys under fifteen S [712] belonging to it are to be seen working in the fields, while the men remain in stone towers, which have been built for the purpose, and watch through the loopholes for the enemy.

S 628 608 When it becomes apparent that the hostile parties desire to become reconciled, a few men are chosen from the Vassoyevitch tribe (on the Montenegrin frontier, but under the dominion of the Turks), to whom is entrusted the task of settling the matter. These men are called Kmets. As a demonstration